

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2873

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMCONSUL MUNICH

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMCONSUL KRAKOW

AMCONSUL POZNAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 WARSAW 0148

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PL

SUBJECT: PARTY PLENUM CALLS FOR PARTY CONGRESS IN 4TH QUARTER
OF 1975

1. SUMMARY: THE 16TH PLENUM OF THE PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE, HELD
IN WARSAW JANUARY 6-7, PRODUCED NO SURPRISES OR PERSONNEL CHANGES
AND, AS EXPECTED, CALLED FOR THE 7TH PARY CONGRESS TO BE HELD IN
THE 4TH QUARTER OF 1975. ALTHOUGH BILLED IN ADVANCE FOR THE PAST
SEVERAT WEEKS AS AN IDEOLOGICAL PLENUM, THE MEETING SEEMED TO DE-
VOTE MORE TIME TO PARTY ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS THAN TO IDEOLOGY, JUDG

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ING BY PRESS ACCOUNTS OF THE DISCUSSIONS AND THE TEXT OF GIEREK'S
SPEECH. GIEREK'S SPEECH WAS MILD IN TONE AND NOT AT ALL EXHORTATORY
ON IDEOLOGY, BUT REPEATEDLY EMPHASIZED THE OBLIGATIONS OF PARTY
MEMBERS TO THE NATION. GIEREK CHARACTERIZED THE PRESENT POLITICAL
SITUATION IN POLAND AS GOOD BUT WARNED THAT THE PARTY CAN-

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NOT REST ON ITS LAURELS, POINTING OUT THAT "THE WORKING CLASS

PLACES GREAT DEMANDS ON THE PARTY AND EXPECTS A LOT FROM IT." INDICATING THAT THERE WOULD BE NO CHANGE IN HIS ADMINISTRATION'S BASIC POLICY, HE SAID THAT THE MAIN RESPONSIBILITY BEFORE THE PARTY WAS TO MAINTAIN THE DYNAMIC RATE OF SOCIAL-ECONOMIC GROWTH. HE REFERRED TO THE SOVIET UNION ONLY THREE TIMES AND DID NO MENTION BREZHNEV OR ANY OTHER FOREIGN LEADER. END SUMMARY.

2. ACCORDING TO TRYBUNA LUDU, GIEREK'S SPEECH TOGETHER WITH THE THESES" ON THE IDEOLOGICAL-POLITICAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL STRENGTHENING OF THE PARTY" CONSTITUTE A LONG-RANGE PROGRAM FOR THE PZPR AND SHOULD FACILITATE THE GROWTH OF PARTY ACTIVITY IN ACCOMPLISHING THE TASKS OF THE LAST YEAR OF THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN DURING THIS YEAR OF PREPARATION FOR THE 7TH CONGRESS OF THE PZPR. THE THESES HAVE NOT YET BEEN PUBLISHED, BUT WE WILL COMMENT UPON THE HIGHLIGHTS OF GIEREK'S SPEECH, THE TEXT OF WHICH WE ASSUME IS AVAILABLE TO THE DEPARTMENT THROUGH FBIS.

3. GIEREK BEGAN BY SAYING THAT THIS PLENUM WAS FOCUSSED ON ORGANIZATIONAL AND IDEOLOGICAL AFFAIRS "OF THE PARTY., IT IS INTERESTING THAT HE PLACED "ORGANIZATIONAL" AHEAD OF "IDEOLOGICAL" IN HIS PHRASING, BECUASE FOR SEVERAL WEEKS OUR SOURCES HAVE BEEN TOUTING THIS AS AN IDEOLOGICAL PLENUM. YET, THROUGHOUT GIEREK'S SPEECH A RECURRENT THEME IS THE BURDEN UPON THE PARTY TO ORGANIZE ITSELF SO AS TO PLAY ITS ROLE EFFECTIVELY AS THE DEDICATED AND INSPIRING LEADER OF THE ENTIRE POLISH NATION IN MAINTAINING A DYNAMIC PACE OF ECONOMIC GROWTH AND MODERNIZATION. THE EMPHASIS IS UPON THE OBLIGATION OF PARTY LEADERS TO PERFORM AS EFFECTIVE LEADERS, MANAGERS, AND ORGANIZERS, NOT ON HARD IDEOLOGICAL HARANGUING. GIEREK POINTS OUT THAT ONLY THROUGH CONTINUED GOOD PERFORMANCE CAN THE PARTY STRENGTHEN ITS TIES WITH SOCIETY AS A WHOLE AND LEAD THE NATION EFFECTIVELY.

4. GIEREK SAYS THAT THE PARTY SEES ITS MAIN RESPONSIBILITY AS MAINTAINING THE HIGH RATE OF SOCIAL-ECONOMIC GROWTH. HE SAYS THAT OF KEY SIGNIFICANCE IN ACHIEVING THIS GOAL IS THE MODERNIZATION OF THE ECONOMY, FASTER AND BETTER INITIATION OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS, CONTINUAL IMPROVEMENT IN THE ORGANIZATION OF WORK, A CONTINUAL INCREASE IN LABOR PRODUCTIVITY, AND THE RATIONAL EMPLOYMENT OF LABOR AND MATERIALS. COMMENT: CONFIDENTIAL

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THIS PASSAGE CONTAINS AN IMPLICATION OF DISSATISFACTION WITH THE SLOW APPLICATION HERE OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCES. WE HEARD RUMBLINGS OF THIS RECENTLY WHEN ONE OF POLAND'S MOST ACCOMPLISHED ORGANIZERS OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH WAS APPOINTED MINISTER OF SCIENCE, HIGHER EDUCATION, AND TECHNOLOGY. END COMMENT.

5. GIEREK REFERS TO THE GROWING ECONOMIC CRISIS "IN THE CAPI-

TALIST WORLD" WHICH HE SAYS IS COMPLICATING THE SITUATION IN WORLD MARKETS. HOWEVER, HE ADDS THAT, THANKS TO ECONOMIC PLANNING AS WELL AS COOPERATION WITH THE OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES POLAND IS LIMITING THE NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF THIS ON ITS DEVELOPMENT, BUT IS NOT ABLE TO REMAIN ENTIRELY UNAFFECTED. FOR THAT REASON, HE SAYS THAT POLAND WILL INTENSIFY ITS ECONOMIC INTEGRATION AND COOPERATION WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND WITH THE ENTIRE "SOCIALIST COMMONWEALTH."

6. IN HIS SOLE REFERENCE TO INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, GIEREK STRONGLY ENDORSES DETENTE WHILE POINTING OUT THAT WITHIN THE FRAME WORK OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE THE CONFRONTATION OF IDEAS PLAYS A GROWING ROLE AND THAT THE POLISH PARTY MUST MEET THE CHALLENGE " TO THE EXTENT REQUIRED BY THIS CONFRONTATION" BY AN IMPROVEMENT IN ITS IDEOLOGICAL WORK. HE MAKES IT CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT HE HAS IN MIND A QUALITATIVE IMPROVEMENT OF IDEOLOGICAL CADRES AND WORK.

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7. AT ANOTHER POINT GIEREK STATES THAT THE PARTY MUST INCREASE ITS INFLUENCE AMONG FARMERS. HE SAYS THAT THIS HAS A SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE IN VIEW OF THE TASKS WHICH THE PARTY HAS OUTLINED FOR AGRICULTURE. IN THIS PASSAGE HE EMPHASIZES THAT THE PARTY HAS AN OPPORTUNITY TO WORK WITH RURAL YOUTH TO MODERNIZE THE "PEASANT THINKING" WHICH STILL PREVAILS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE. COMMENT: PRIVATE FARMING VERSUS SOCIALIZED AGRICULTURE IS NOT MENTIONED AND THERE IS NOTHING IN THIS PASSAGE WHICH SUGGESTS A THREAT TO PRIVATE FARMERS. GIEREK USED THE BROAD TERM "ROLNIK" (FARMER OR AGRICULTURALIST), RATHER THAN "CHLOP" (PEASANT), EXCEPT FOR THE COMMENT ABOUT "PEASANT THINKING." END COMMENT.

8. GIEREK MENTIONS THE EXCHANGE OF PARTY CARDS, PREPARATIONS FOR WHICH HE SAYS HAVE ENTERED THE FINAL STAGE AND WHICH SHOULD SERVE AS "AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT OF THE ACTIVIZATION OF OUR RANKS." A RECURRENT THEME THROUGHOUT THE SPEECH IS THE CONFIDENTIAL

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OBLIGATION OF PARTY MEMBERS TO LEAD BY BETTER PERFORMANCE. AT ONE POINT HE SAYS THAT PARTY MEMBERS ARE NOT AND SHOULD NOT BE IMMUNE TO CRITICISM FROM NON-PARTY MEMBERS. AT ANOTHER POINT HE EMPHASIZES THAT EACH PARTY MEMBER IS RESPONSIBLE INDIVIDUALLY TO THE ENTIRE NATION AS "A POLE, A CITIZEN, AND A COMMUNIST," AND WOULD BE SO JUDGED BY THE PEOPLE. COMMENT: THE MESSAGE SEEMS CLEAR THAT GIEREK EXPECTS ALL PARTY MEMBERS TO BE JUDGED STRICTLY ON THEIR PERFORMANCE AS "POLES, CITIZENS, AND COMMUNISTS" IN THE EXCHANGE OF PARTY CARDS. END COMMENT.

9. GIEREK CONCLUDES BY SAYING THAT THE ACHIEVEMENT OF GOOD ECONOMIC RESULTS IN 1975 IS A MATTER OF HONOR FOR THE PARTY. HE THEN APPEALS TO FARMERS, THE INTELLIGENTSIA, AND WORKERS TO JOIN TOGETHER IN THE EFFORT FOR THE URGENT COMPLETION OF ALL THE TASKS BEFORE THEM, FOR A FURTHER GROWTH IN PRODUCTION, FOR AN IMPROVEMENT IN QUALITY, AND FOR ASSURING MORE EFFICIENT MANAGEMENT.

10. COMMENT: THE SPEECH WAS WORDED AND PRESENTED IN THE FRANK, LOW-KEY, STRAIGHTFORWARD STYLE, DEVOID OF LENINIST HARANGUING, WHICH HAS BECOME GIEREK'S HALLMARK. IT CONTAINED NO SELF-SERVING BOASTING ABOUT PAST PERFORMANCE AND AVOIDED MAKING UNREASONABLE DEMANDS FOR FUTURE PERFORMANCE. WHILE IT IS NOT AN INSPIRING DOCUMENT, NEITHER IS IT LIKELY TO AROUSE APPREHENSION AMONG THE LARGELY NON-COMMUNIST POLISH PEOPLE. SOME REASSURANCE TO NON-PARTY PEOPLE CAN BE READ IN GIEREK'S STATEMENT THAT "THERE IS NO SOCIAL JUSTICE WHEN THERE ARE CLIQUES, WHEN INITIATIVE AND CRITICISM ARE SUPPRESSED, WHEN ASSESSMENTS OF PEOPLE DO NOT CORRESPOND TO THE REAL VALUE OF THEIR WORK AND ATTITUDES, OR WHEN PERSONNEL POLICY HAS

NOTHING TO DO WITH HONEST PROFESSIONAL OR IDEOLOGICAL
CRITERIA." AND THE THEME OS NATIONAL UNITY WHICH PERVADES THE
ENTIRE SPEECH IS MOST POINTEDLY STATED BY GIEREK IN THE
FOLLOWING FORMULATION: "WE SHOULD ALWAYS REMEMBER THAT
THE ENTIRE NATION IS BUILDING SOCIALIST POLAND AND THE PARTY
IS ONLY THE LEADING FORCE IN THIS GREAT NATIONAL TASK." IN
SUM, GIEREK'S PEECH READS AS A SINCERE STATEMENT OF PURPOSE
IN WHICH THE POLISH LEADER ATTEMPTS TO MOBILIZE THE PARTY
AND THE ENTIRE NATION TO A MORE EFFECTIVE AND PRODUCTIVE
PERFORMANCE SO THAT THE STANDARD OF LIVING WILL CONTINUE
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